Department of State TELEGRAM

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EXCISE
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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 KINGSTON 4298

E.O.12065: RDS -1 6/11/00 (LAWRENCE LOREN E) OR-M
TAGS: PINT, PINS, JM
SUBJECT: JAMAICA WHERE ARE WE: ELECTIONS PARTY STABILITY AND THE CUBANS

1. S-ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: JAMAICA GETS CLOSER TO ELECTIONS THE ENUMERATION PROCESS STARTED JUNE 7 AMID GENERAL FEELINGS OF APPREHENSION AND SUSPENSE. PEOPLE DO NOT KNOW WHAT TO EXPECT NEXT BUT ARE FEARFUL IT WILL NOT BE GOOD. VIOLENCE IS STILL NO GREATER THAN IT WAS IN THE 1976 CAMPAGIN, BUT AUTOMATIC WEAPONS HAVE BEEN INTRODUCTED, PNP PARAMILITARY CADRES ARE BEING TRAINED IN CUBA AND AT LEAST ONE CUBAN EMBASSY OFFICIALS HAS BEEN TIED TO THE GOLD STREET MASSACRE. WIN OR LOSE THERE IS APPREHENSION OVER THE FUTURE OF THE PNP WHERE FAR-LEFTISTS NOW CALL THE TUNE AND PLAN THE STRATEGY. THE ENUMERATION WILL GIVE A BETTER INDICATION OF WHAT WILL BE IN STORE AS FAR AS VIOLENCE IS CONCERNED, WHAT MORE WE MIGHT EXPECT FROM THE CUBANS. HOW VIOLENCE WILL EFFECT THE VOTE AND WHAT VOTING PATTERNS MAY BE LIKE. END SUMMARY.

3. DURING THE FIRST WEEK IN JUNE JAMAICA MOVED CLOSER TO NATIONALS ELECTIONS, ON JUNE 3, THE PARLIAMENT PASSED AN AMENDMENT TO THE ELECTORAL LAWS ALLOWING THE ELECTORAL
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ENUMERATION TO START ON JUNE 7. AT LEAST TWO IMPEDIMENTS TO CLEAN ELECTIONS HAVE BEEN REMOVED, I.E. THE ENUMERATION

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR
REVIEWED BY WPS DATE June 25, 1982
PORTIONS DENIED AS INDICATED

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PROCESS IS NOW UNDER CONTROL OF AN INDEPNDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION RATHER THAN THE GOVERMENT AND THE OLD ELECTORAL LISTS WHICH THE OPPOSITION BELIEVES FRAUDULENT WILL BE REPLACED BY LISTS WHICH WILL REFLECT MORE ACCURATELY ELIGIBLE POTENTIAL VOTERS. IT WILL INCLUDE ALL OF THOSE WHO HAVE REACHED VOTING AGE --18 YEARS OLD-- SINCE THE LAST ENUMERATION IN 1976 BUT WILL NOT INCLUDE PERSONS WHO HAVE DIED OR MOVED AWAY THUS DIMINISHING THE POSSIBILITY OF IMPERSONATION AND MULTIPLE VOTING. FINGER PRINTING AND THE USE OF A AN INDELIBLE INK ON VOTING DAY SHOULD GO EVEN FURTHER TO PREVENT THESE ILLEGAL PRACTICES FROM BEING REPEATED ON A SCALE SIMILAR TO THE LAST ELECTION. WHAT THE NEW ELECTORAL LEGISLATION DOES NOT DEAL WITH IS THE PERENNIAL PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION. THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION AND THE SECURITY FORCES, HAVE, HOWEVER, WORKED OUT A SCHEME TO PROTECT SCRUITINEERS AND ENUMERATORS.

4. DR. CARL STONE'S MOST RECENT POLL INCLUDES A QUESTION DESIGNED TO SHOW THE EFFECT VIOLENCE MIGHT HAVE IN KEEPING PEOPLE AWAY FROM THE POLLS. SOME 30 PERCENT OF OF THOSE INTERVIEWED INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD BE INTIMIDATED. LOCAL OBSERVERS SAY THE OVERALL INCIDENCE OF VIOLENCE IS ABOUT THE SAME NOW AS IT WAS IN 1976. STILL, THERES IS MORE CONCERN TODAY THAT THERE WAS AT THE TIME OF THE LAT ELECTIONS BECAUSE, -AUTOMATIC WEAPONS ARE NOW IN THE HANDS OF POLICIAL ASSASSINS, (THE GOLD STREET MASSACRES KINGSTON 2969)
--VIOLENCE WILL HAVE A DOUBLE CHANCE, IN THE ENUMERATION AND IN THE ELECTION.
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--THE OPPOSITION MUST BE EXPECTED TO REPLY AT SOME STAGE TO THE VIOLENCE COMMITTED MOSTLY BY PNP ADHERENTS SO FAR.
--OF OMINOUS SOUNDING THREATS FROM PARTY LEADERS SUCH AS MICHAEL MANLEY'S CRY BEFORE THE CLEANER (KINGSTON 6909) "NEXT TIME, NEXT TIME", D.K. DUNCANS CLAIM THAT THE PNP WILL "NEVER CONCEDE: EVEN IF IT MEANS BLOOD, PAIN, DEATH, AND HIS ALLEGED BOAST OF A 5,000 MAN FORCE TO POLICE THE COUNTRY."
--RUMORS THAT THE BRIGADISTAS, THE MORE BLACKS

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OTHER TRAINED CADERES, AND THE 400 PLUS CUBANS
WORKING ON CUBAN AID PROJECTS ARE ALL POTENTIAL
EXTRA LEGAL PARAMILITY FORCES THAT THE GOVERN-
MENT WILL USE TO STAY IN POWER.
--THE MISTRUST THE POLICE HAVE SHOWN TOWARDS THE
GOVERNMENT AND THE FORMER MINISTER OF NATIONAL SECURITY.
--THE REDUCED CAPABILITY OF THE SECURITY FORCES
DUE TO SHORTAGES OF SPARE PARTS FOR TRANSPORT
AND COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT.
--THE INSTABILITY OF THE PNP.
--THE CUBAN FACTOR.
OF ALL THESE BYFAR THE MOST IMPORTANT ARE THE
INSTABILITY OF THE RULING PARTY AND THE ROLE OF THE
CUBANS

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5. WHEN FAR LEFTISTS IN THE RULING PNP, ALTHOUGH CLEARLY SUPPORTED BY ONLY A MINORITY OF THE PARTY AT LARGE, MANAGED TO MANIPULATE THE PARTY'S NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (EC) AND CUT OFF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE IMF, AND THIS DECISION WAS ACCEPTED BY THE CABINET (WHERE A MAJORITY WAS OPPOSED) IT MARKED A DISTINCT SHIFT IN THE BALANCE OF POWER WITHINT THE PARTY. THE MODERATES VOTED AGAINST OR STAYED AWAY BUT SEEM TO HAVE MADE NO REAL GIGHT. PRIME MINISTER MANLEY PLAYED A ROLE WHICH EXPOSED HIM AS INEFFECTUAL. HIS DETRACTORS COULD HARDLY HAVE DEVISED A SITUATION TO MAKE HIM APPEAR IN A MORE LIGHT. IN HIS SPEECH TO THE COUNCIL MANLEY MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE FELT IT WAS FOLLY TO ABANDON THE IMF ROUTE AT THIS TIME, THAT IT WOULD COST JOBS AND HENCE VOTES BUT THAT HE STILL WANTED TO LEAD THE PARTY EVEN IF THEY CHOSE THIS CALAMITOUS ROUTE. IN POLITICAL TERMS THE NET RESULT OF THE DECISION WAS TO:
--REMOVE A BIT MORE OF THE AMBIGUITY OVER WHAT TYPE OF PARTY THE PNP WOULD BE, MODERATE OR FAR LEFT SINCE IT WAS THE FAR LEFTISTS THAT PREVAILED;
--DAR THE PNP AND THE COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY OF JAMAICA (WPJ) CLOSER TOGETHER, TO THE POINT

THAT AFTER THE IMF DECISION THE WPJ ANNOUNCED
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IT WOULD SUPPORT PNP CANDIDATES IN THE ELECTIONS BECAUSE OF THE DECISION:

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--SHAKE THREE MORE MODERATES OUT OF THE CABINET AND INDUCE A FLOCK OF MODERATES TO ANNOUNCE THEY WOULD NOT RUN IN THE ELECTION (17 AT LATEST COUNT);
--WEAKENED FURTHER THE STATUS AND IMAGE OF PNP MODERATES WHO NOW LOOK LIKE INEFFECTUAL HAS-BEENS OR OPPORTUNISTS READY TO FOLLOW ANY LINE *TO STAY IN POWER;*
--WEAKEN THE STATUS OF THE MICHAEL MANLEY AS PRIME MINISTER AND PARTY LEADER.
IF, AS THE POLLSTERS PREDICT, THE JLP WIN THE ELECTIONS, THE BIG QUESTION (IN ADDITION TO WHETHER A SUCCEEDING GOVERNMENT CAN GOVERN) WILL BE WHO WILL BE BLAMED FORA PROBABLE PNP DEFEAT AND WHO WILL CONTROL THE RUMP PARTY, THE LEFTISTS OR THE MODERATES.

6. [redacted]

7. MEANWHILE THE CUBAN ROLE ON THE POLITICAL SCENE IS BUILDING UP MAINLY THROUGH SUPPORT FOR THE PNP IN THE
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ELECTIONS. WHAT ARE THEY DOING? b(1) ED

[redacted] THEY RECENTLY TRAINED SOME 60 PNP-SPONSORED YOUNG PEOPLE IN PARAMILITARY OPERATIONS;

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[redacted] THE COUNSELOR OF THE CUBAN EMBASSY, CARLOS DIAZ, [redacted] PARTICIPATED IN THE PLANNING OF THE GOLD STREET MASSACRES;

--THE CUBANS, USUALLY SYNCHRONIZED WITH THE LOCAL COMMUNISTS, ARE INTENSIFYING THEIR ATTACKS ON THE UNITED STATES AND THE CIA, ACCUSING US AMONG OTHER THINGS OF BEING RESPONSIBLE FOR A FIRE WHICH KILLED SOME 160 ELDERLY WOMEN AND WHICH WAS MADE INTO A POLITICAL AFFAIR BY PRIME MINISTER MANLEY AND MINISTER OF CONSTRUCTION TONY SPAULDING

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THERE IS ALSO THE AFFAIR OF THE SHOT GUN SHELLS IMPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES BY THE CUBAN OWNED MOONEX INTERNATIONAL AND STILL WAITING TO BE CLAIMED KINGSTON 3635) IN THE CATEGORY OF CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE SOME BELIEVE THAT SINCE THE PNP IS NOT GETTING MUCH MONEY FROM THE USUAL SOURCES, THE FAT CATS WHO SUPPORTED THEM IN THE PAST, AND DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE LOOKING FOR MONEY THEY ARE BEING FUNDED BY HAVANA. RUMORS OF ARMS SHIPMENTS FROM CUBA CONTINUE BUT WITH OUT SOLID EVIDENCE TO SUBSTANTIATE THEM.

6. AS WE APPROACH THE ELECTIONS PERIOD THE SITUATION IS CHARACTERIZED BY FOUR MAIN FACTORS:
-- THE PNP HAS TAKEN A LARGE STEP AWAY FROM A TRADITIONAL PARTNER THE IMF, BUT HAS BY NO MEANS YET DEFINED ITSELF IN PURELY MARXUST TERMS. (THOSE WHO WOULD CREATE SUCH AN IDENTIFY FOR IT HAVE STRENGTHENED CONSIDERABLY THEIR ROLE IN THE PARTY);
WE ARE STILL WAITING TO SEE WHETHER THE CUBAN CONNECTION WILL TRANSFORM ELECTORAL VIOLENCE INTO WELL ORGANIZED TTACKS BY LARGER MEMBERS OF TRAINED EFFECTIVES WITH AUTOMATIC WEAPONS;
--ALREADY TH CUBANS ARE MAKING THEIR SUPPORT FELT ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT AND ARE TRYING *TO EQUATE THE OPPOSITION WITH THE CIA.*
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--MANLEY'S ROLE HAS CHANGED FROM ADVANCE MAN *TO SOMETHING OF A FIGUREHEAD.*

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WE SHOULD HAVE BETTER READINGS ON THE PNP AND THE CDBANS AS WELL AS THE EFFECT OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION ON THE VOTERS AND SOME IDEA OF PROBABLY VOTING RNS AFTER THE ENUMERATION PROCESS IS COMPLETED, ABOUT JUNE 28.

9.

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